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AN EGYPTIAN DOCUMENT FOR THE HISTORY OF PALESTINE

QUITE recently, the Russian Government has issued a magnificent publication which for thirty years has been awaited most anxiously by scholars, viz. a part of the papyri of the museum in St. Petersburg,¹ containing some of the most precious texts for Egyptology, such as the famous story of the shipwrecked sailor, and another story of great literary and historical interest on which I do not yet feel able to report. By the side of these texts from the Middle Empire of Egypt (after 2000 B. C.) appears one of quite an unexpected character, of which nothing had been rumoured so far: Pap. 1116A, *verso*. At first sight, this list of official accounts, dealing principally with payments in grain from the royal granaries, is very unattractive. After closer examination, however, it proves to contain a piece of great importance for the history of Palestine which I believe my duty to bring directly to the knowledge of Biblical students. It is a list of Palestinian ambassadors to whom rations in grain and beer were measured out from the governmental magazines, probably at Thebes.

This list appears twice in the papyrus; the variants of both versions and the apparent mistakes in the rendering of some geographical names prove that we have not the original report, but a somewhat hasty copy of it taken from a hieratic manuscript. Thus the names are, in the best case, second-hand tradition, and need some criticism. I transliterate the text in full.

¹ *Les papyrus hiératiques nos. 1115, 1116A et 1116B de l'Ermitage Impérial à St.-Petersbourg*, 1913. 8 pp., 28+4 plates, large fol. It has reached me through W. Golenišeff's kindness.

(Pl. 17, 67) Account of the grain furnished to the nobles (*ma-ra-y-na*) of Syria (*Ša-hi*).²

(68) The messenger of the foreign country of *Ma-k(e)-ti*
beer, jars (?) 3, of (?) (grain) measures . . .

(69) The messenger of *Kn* (emend *Ki*) *-n-na-ra-tu*, ditto

(70) " " *Y(a)-ka-si-pu*, "

(71) " " [*Ša*]-*ma-t(?)u-na*, "

(72) " " [*Ta*]-*a-na-ki* "

(73) " " [*Ru*]-*ša'-a-ra*, "

(74) " " *Ti-n-ni*, "

(75) " " *S[a]-ru-na*, "

(76) " " *'(E)-s-ka-ru-na*, "

(77) " " *Hu-su(!)-ra*, "

(78) " (?)³ " *Ha-tu-ma*, "

Second List.

(Pl. 22, l. 183) Account of the grain . . .

(184) *Ha-ti-tu-ma* (determinative: foreign man!), beer, 1 jar:
grain, 7 measures (+ *x* + *y*?).

(185) [the messeng]er of *Ma-k(e)-ti*, 1 ditto, (grain) measure 1 (+ *x*).
Sa-ru-na, beer, one jar, measure 1 (+ *x*).

(186) ditto *K(e)-n-na-ra-tu*, 1 ditto (same)
'(E)-s-ka-ru-na, 1 (same).

(187) ditto *Y(a)-ka-si-pu*, 1 ditto (same).
Hu-su-ra 1 (same).

(188) ditto *Ša-ma-du[-na]*, 1 ditto (same).

(189) ditto *Ta'-a-na[-ki]*, 1 ditto (same).

(190) ditto *Ti-n-ni*.

² See the Egyptian passages on this name (= **ḥi*; *ḥi*?) *Asien und Europa*, where, on the statements of some inscriptions, I had narrowed its meaning to that of 'Phoenicia'. The name is largely used in a very vague sense, and may partly correspond to the Semitic Canaan, partly to Syria at large.

³ A bold abbreviation of the group for the often repeated word *wpwtj*—'messenger', as I believe. The scribe thought probably he could take such a liberty at the end.

(At an isolated place, pl. 15, l. 2) 'Account of grain and beer for the messenger of *Ra-k̄-ša*, daily 15, bushels (?) 10, which makes 'prince measures 20'.

I do not enter upon the metrological questions, which seem to me quite indifferent. Furthermore, the evident corruptions of the text make these questions here specially difficult. I limit myself to the geographical names.⁴ These are, following the arrangement of list 1:

Megiddo. The name stands first because of the very prominent part played by that city, not only during the first campaign of Thutmosis III. It had an important situation on the most direct road over the Carmel, connecting Palestine and Phoenicia. Thus also in the great Palestine list of Thutmosis III (*MVAG.*, XII (1907-8), no. 2.

K(e)nnaratu or *Kinnaratu* is the Kinneroth of Naphtali. The Egyptian writing, agreeing closely with the *K(e)nnaratu* of the great list (no. 34), decides in a very remarkable way the pronunciation of the name which is rather uncertain in biblical and other tradition. Especially the ending *-u* is a clear indication of a long final syllable *-āt* or *-ōt*.

Y(a)-ka-si-pu seems to be the biblical Achshaph. The initial seems to be a corruption of the ordinary aleph-sign ('a) of the syllabic orthography; change of *aleph* and *yod* is otherwise impossible in Egyptian. The vocalization, indeed, is strange. It must not be used to connect the name with Achzib-Ecdippa, as *†* is never *s* for the Egyptians. It might only be possible that we have above an erroneous assimilation of Achshaph and Achzib in the vocalization; the latter is, however, rarely a very reliable matter in the wild orthography of the Egyptians. The Palestine list writes '(E)-k-s(a?)*p*' (no. 40) with an unusual syllabic sign

⁴ For the transliteration of foreign names in hieroglyphs see my remarks, *Asien und Europa*, p. 58, considerably corrected, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (*MVAG.*), XII, 1912, 237. I prefer to write, e.g., *Tu-n̄-pa* for what, according to archaic Egyptian orthography, might be written also *Twnyp* 3, &c., in order to distinguish the 'syllabic' or 'vocalizing' orthography from the archaic style. (I write *ī* for the two strokes, *i* for the ordinary Egyptian *yod*, when used as a vowel.)

which, after its most common Egyptian value (*sōp*), ought to be *sap*.

Ša-ma-du-na is a very remarkable rendering of the name Shabbathōn. The *m*, where we should expect *b*, seems to have arisen from a very strongly-voiced pronunciation of the *bb*, as it leads in other cases to the dissimilation *mb* for *bb*. Ramses III writes the same name *Ša-bu-du-na*, Thutmosis III (73) *Ša-b-tu-na* (cp. *MVAG.*, XII, 23). I am not quite sure about the situation.⁵

Ta'anach is common; the ending appears as *ka* or *ki* in Egyptian renderings, as in cuneiform.

רַאֲשׁ-שִׁמְעֹן [רַאֲשׁ] 'God's summit' is a new name, unless the city be identical with the important place mentioned three times by the Egyptians (*MVAG.*, I. c., 17), probably in Galilee, *Ru-ša-k(a)d-š(a)*, ראֲשׁ קִדְשׁ 'holy summit'. Such a variant of the name is not altogether probable, I think.

Ti-n-ni (with a special *i* in the first syllable which ought to point to a long or diphthongic pronunciation) is a difficult problem. The strongest argument against the impossible comparison with Dan is the *nn*; also otherwise the two names are little similar. The uncommon initial syllable occurs in the great Palestine list (no. 98) only in the name *Ti-pu-nu* = Daibōn (in Juda?). It would not be impossible to see a graphic corruption of this name in *Tinni*; only it would then be necessary to consider that strange orthography *Ti-pu-nu* as constant, while we have *D(e)-b-nu* by its side (*MVAG.*, I. c., 38). Thus I leave the explanation open.

Saruna is the city *Šaruna* of the Amarna Tablets, *Sa-ru-na* of the Palestine list (21), the city which seems to have given its name to the biblical 'plain of Sharon'.

In the name of *Ashkelōn* the initial, which would point rather to an *E*- or *I*- than to the traditional *A*-, returns in other Egyptian passages, and seems, therefore, to deserve some attention.

⁵ Golenisheff advocates the reading *Ša-ma-ru-na* = Samaria. In hieratic texts, however, the combination *r + u*, instead of the syllabic sign *ru*, is very unusual and here quite improbable. Samaria is never mentioned by the Egyptians; it must have been an insignificant place before Omri.

In *Hu-su-ra* I see nothing but a corruption for *Hu-ṣau-ra*, which is the usual Egyptian orthography for the important city of Haṣōr (*ṣau* is a well-known combination = *ṣu*, because simple *ṣ* + *u* seems to be uncalledigraphic). The signs *ṣa* and *su* are very similar in hieratic; otherwise it would be very difficult to furnish instances of Egyptian *ṣ* = *ṣ*.

I cannot do anything with the last name, *Ha-tu-ma*. In the second copy of our text, it has been placed at the beginning of the list, totally disfigured by an erroneous doublet of the second radical (*ti* = *tu*), and is misunderstood as a personal name. The abnormal amount of grain rations in the second place makes me suspect that the name originally stood at the end of the list (as in the first instance, l. 78), and was followed by the sum total of the rations for the ten or eleven ambassadors. The strong disfigurement of the name makes such a thoughtless copying of the numbers quite possible. I do not think a city הַתִּמָּה, הַתִּמָּה can be found. I know nothing better than a bold emendation into the *Hu-ma* of the large geographical list (*MVAG.*, XII, 32, no. 118: the identity of this name with *Ha-m* of the list of King Shoshenk, l. c., 38, is not certain). I myself am not quite convinced of this emendation.

The principal importance of this list is that it gives us an idea of those cities which in the time of Thutmosis III,⁶ i. e. after 1500 B. C., were seats of kings. Only an independent king would deal directly with the suzerain in Egypt; chiefs under his rule had, of course, to communicate through the agency of the king; otherwise it would have been high treason for them, just as Pharaoh could not tolerate one of his vassals to write to Assyria or to the king of the Hittites. This selection of names agrees well with the enumeration of (royal!) cities in the great list quoted here so frequently, and with the Amarna tablets.

The Egyptian expression 'messenger' may mean the ordinary carrier of a letter, or the dignified ambassador possessing some

⁶ The papyrus is not dated, but W. Golenisheff gives good reasons for connecting it with a papyrus in the Louvre, written under Thutmosis III.

rank and power. The first list expressly calls them *marayna*⁷ 'noblemen', but this must not be understood too literally; Egyptian vanity may have included the simple letter-carriers. More remarkable is the fact that the Egyptian government paid for their maintenance. This would agree with their coming as bearers of tribute or in other important functions. I feel doubtful whether every bearer of a tablet to the Egyptian court could claim support from the Egyptian officials on the road or those at Pharaoh's residence. Thus those 'messengers' may have had a somewhat exceptional character. At any rate, they were hardly an accidental gathering. The selection of names gives us the impression that a small caravan was formed in Galilee to keep company on the unsafe roads of Palestine, and that it picked up a couple of similar 'messengers' like the one from Ashkelon. The Egyptian arrangement of the names in their enumeration is, of course, quite unsystematic.

The most important contribution to the history of Palestine is the isolated mention of a messenger from *Ra-kî-ša*, i. e. Lachish. So far, no Egyptian inscription or papyrus had mentioned this place; the Petersburg papyrus confirms that the city was then as important as later, in biblical times. I direct the attention of my readers to the remarkably good vocalization of the name by our Egyptian, agreeing absolutely with the cuneiform *Lakiša* and the tradition. In general, the orthography of the foreign names here is, notwithstanding the copyist's blunders mentioned above, better than the average, and confirms my contention that the caricatured imitation of cuneiform vocalization, which the Egyptians of that period employed for Asiatic names, sometimes yields useful information. Cp. above the remarks on Kinnarōth.

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⁷ Vocalize *meryōn*, the Canaanitish מרִי, Arabic مَرَوْ, with the amplificative ending -ōn.